

## INFORMATION REPORT INFORMATION REPORT

## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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This is UNEVALUATED Information

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1. Bulganin had his own philosophy of life. Among press representatives he never referred to it, but once he dropped a very significant phrase: "Life consists of two lines -- a vertical and a horizontal one, crossing each other, and the clever person will keep his balance by maneuvering on the horizontal line, exerting pressure on the vertical line below the horizontal, and ascending up the vertical line above the horizontal." Bulganin's personal conduct had all the earmarks of this philosophy. Bulganin undoubtedly was a very good organizer and administrator but people did not like to work for him. This was because of the "pressure on the vertical line below the horizontal". He was very undemocratic in his relations with his subordinates. Very few of his collaborators had had any voice in the affairs of the Moscow City Council. Everyone, even heads of departments in the city government, was afraid of him. 25X1
2. At the same time, Bulganin was exceptionally liberal and friendly with those who, in his opinion, were on the "horizontal line", on his own level. Everyone who had access to the Central Committee of the Party and to the higher government apparatus usually found Bulganin a most considerate and attentive person. Directors of trusts and plants, ministers (at that time called Narkoms), their representatives, writers, and correspondents were deemed by him to be persons deserving to be treated on a level of equality. 25X1  
 Likhachev (at that time director of an automobile plant bearing Stalin's name) saying in a somewhat puzzled manner: "I asked Bulganin who is the director of 'Mosmet' (a trust that embraced all the plants belonging to the Moscow Council) and it developed that he did not know his name, although he knew the names of all the directors of all the Republic and all-Union trusts!"<sup>1,2</sup> This was typical of Bulganin -- a director of "Mosmet" held no interest for him, because the latter was his subordinate, but directors of the organizations not under his control were well known to him.

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3. This gift of keeping up good relationships with people who were placed by him on the "horizontal" and "upward-vertical" lines was highly developed in Bulganin. He was also very good at forgetting the names of the persons who were losing their political significance. This happened to Mikhail (sometimes called Mikhaylov, as his name originally was not of Russian origin), who was Kaganovich's deputy. This Mikhaylov was especially patronizing toward Bulganin. Even though everyone was saying that "Mikhaylov lifted Bulganin by the ears", immediately after the fall of Mikhaylov, Bulganin wrote in the Moscow Worker an article depicting Mikhaylov as the cause for the failure of the Moscow building project. Mikhaylov disappeared from the horizon almost twenty years ago but Bulganin's lunge against him is not yet forgotten in Moscow. An almost identical incident took place with Filatov, Chairman of the Moscow Rayon Executive Committee. Bulganin, in a garrulous mood, mentioned that it was he who advised Filatov to talk to Stalin about his accusations against the OGPU; Filatov was immediately arrested, but the incident did not affect Bulganin.
4. Bulganin gave the impression of being a very entertaining, though somewhat reticent man. [redacted] strictly "career man". [redacted] In his house on Malo-Kalkovinskoy (sic) pereulok, he quite frequently had parties. It was very difficult to figure out on what basis the invitations were extended, because a very mixed crowd usually assembled. At these parties Bulganin quite often and willingly participated in all sorts of liberal discussions. He was informed on art, the theater, and so forth. At that time the lady of the house was his wife, an elderly, retiring woman. His guests, after leaving the party, usually retained the impression that the thoughts and the speeches expressed were liberal and candid, but nobody could have repeated what was so liberal and so frank in the speeches of the host, although he gave an impression of being unrestrained and at ease. By the way, the art of holding this sort of conversation in Moscow does not belong exclusively to Bulganin.
5. It has been written that Bulganin is a gourmet and that he drinks. [redacted] Bulganin [redacted] was rather an abstainer, [redacted] There were also rumors about his love affairs, but he never overstepped the boundaries of respectability; it was known that he had an affair with an actress and with the wife of a prominent person in art circles, and that was all. Moscow is always full of rumors.
6. What will be the conduct of Bulganin now, as the Chairman of the Council of Ministers? Will he allow Khrushchev to be absolute dictator? Will he be an obedient and powerless instrument of Party directives? If it is true that people cannot be reborn, then the propulsion of Bulganin into prominence, with the removal of Malenkov, gives some hope, though a very feeble one, that the struggle for power in the upper strata of the Soviet Government will not end. On the contrary, it will be a planned, deliberate, coolly calculated policy. Bulganin never considered Khrushchev a star of the first magnitude. Unquestionably, he considered Kaganovich and even Malenkov more important. By his temperament Bulganin is a "climber", who reaches his heights in a slow but sure manner. Bulganin's unpopularity with the Army should not be taken for granted. In ten years he had ample opportunities to make friends, useful friends, among those who are now playing decisive roles in the Army. And, if this assumption is correct, then in the nearest future Khrushchev will be pushed aside from the positions which, in Bulganin's opinion, should not be occupied by a Party leader. If he still adheres to his old methods, he will try to divide the Government and the Party. He will try to sever the ties binding them into one. He will accomplish this in such a manner that on the surface it will appear that he follows the line laid down by the latest plenum as directed by Khrushchev.
7. Bulganin will never give Khrushchev a chance to accuse him of violation of the directives of the Party; he knows too well how fanatically the Party guards its predominant role in the ruling of the country and with what ferocity and strength the Party will defend it. At the present time Bulganin will not act in opposition to the present political course but, while following it, he will

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carry on slowly and meticulously his own plan of action. A lot will depend on the extensiveness of the spheres of influence he has been able to build. Bearing in mind his philosophy of life, it is very possible that his position is much stronger than is estimated abroad.

8. The removal of Malenkov will not end the course of the "right deviation" which Malenkov was trying to put into practice. Bulganin had definitely in his mind the same line of policy as Malenkov, stressing the nationalistic trend in State policy. If one can make a supposition that there exists a nationalist-bolshevik group, then Bulganin belongs to it. The difference between Bulganin and Malenkov lies in the fact that Malenkov is not entirely immune to ideologies and ideals, and would be willing to subordinate his desires and ambitions to them; while Bulganin will not sacrifice or give up anything personal for any ideology.
9. He also realizes very well that a person steering the Government's ship in the direction of the advancement of the nationalistic ideals of the State will find unlimited support in the country itself. This policy suits his temperament, his personality, and he will strive for its accomplishment without risk or speed.
10. It is conceivable that Bulganin will try to change the basic policy of the Central Committee of the Party. To accomplish this he will have to strengthen the positions of such members of the Party as Zhukov. Bulganin will try to divide and separate the Party apparatus from the Government. One must bear in mind the colossal, passive submission to Party rule which exists in the Soviet Union, and how closely intertwined are the Party and the Government. This bond cannot be broken easily and quickly. It is possible that Bulganin will start this dissection from the top, gradually taking away the domination of the Party over matters of State and will give it the final blow during its regular plenum by removing the Party from participation in affairs of the State.
11. However, it is possible that Khrushchev and his circle, detecting the danger, will terminate the struggle in Stalin's manner. In this case Bulganin and Malenkov (if the latter has not been sacrificed earlier) may lose everything; but, then, they could also come out victorious. Everything depends on how strong Bulganin's position is at that moment with the Army, in the industrial and agricultural fields, and also with the Party apparatus itself, where Khrushchev is not as much wanted as needed.
12. If Bulganin comes out the winner, then we shall witness Communist tendencies turning to the right and not to the left. We must always think about these two trends in Communism, when we try to understand existing conditions in the USSR. Khrushchev represents the left deviation, while Bulganin is more inclined to favor the right one, and he will put into action his ideas as soon as time and circumstances warrant it.
13. All this could take place, providing Khrushchev does not become aware of the scheme and does not liquidate Bulganin before the latter is ready. But then there will appear another Bulganin who will carry on and convert rightist ideas into reality. The ideology of Communism of the Stalin variety cannot and will not be repeated.

Comments.

1. Probably Ivan Alekseyevich Likhachev, Minister of Automobile Transport and Highways, who was formerly head of the ZIS Factory in Moscow.
2. "Mosmet" was the Metal Section of the Moscow Council of People's Economy (Otdel Metallov Moskovskogo Soveta Narodnogo Khozyaystva).

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